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S E C R E T HELSINKI 1909

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US ASAT DELEGATION 0013

MILITARY ADDRESSES HANDLE AS SPECAT

NASA FOR KRUEGER

E. O. XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: ASAT TALKS: FIFTH PLENARY, JUNE 15, 1978

1. SUMMARY: KHLESTOV SAID THAT SOVIET ANALYSIS OF U.S.
STATEMENTS SO FAR HAD LED TO SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

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WITH REGARD TO PROHIBITING HOSTILE ACTS, U.S. VIEWS WERE
QUITE CLEAR AND "CLOSE TO SOVIET VIEWS." CONCERNING A
BAN ON DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF ANTI-SATELLITE SYS-
TEMS, THE SOVIET SIDE SAW NO SUCH CLARITY IN THE U.S.
POSITION, WHICH WAS UNDERSTANDABLE IN VIEW OF DIFFI-
CULTY IN SPECIFYING WHICH ITEMS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO
SUCH A PROHIBITION. SOVIET SIDE THUS SAW A POSSIBLE

HOSTILE ACTS AGREEMENT AS THE MOST PROMISING AT THIS STAGE AND SUGGESTED THAT U.S. SHOULD PREPARE TO CONTINUE WORK IN THIS DIRECTION "WITH DUE REALISM." RESPONDING TO U.S. QUESTION ON "UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES" BY THIRD COUNTRIES, KHLESTOV SAID HE HAD DRAWN ATTENTION TO THIRD COUNTRY ISSUE IN CONTEXT OF THE U.S. PROPOSAL FOR LIMITING DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS. ANY SUCH AGREEMENT WOULD PRESUMABLY LAST FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME DURING WHICH THIRD COUNTRIES COULD DEVELOP SPACE CAPABILITIES IN WAYS AFFECTING THE SITUATIONS OF U.S. AND USSR. REGARDING QUESTION WHETHER HOSTILE ACTS AGREEMENT WOULD GIVE IMMUNITY TO SATELLITES CONDUCTING UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES, KHLESTOV SAID SOVIET SIDE SAW UNLAWFUL ACTS AS "REAL SITUATION, WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. ON "INDIRECT" ACTION, KHLESTOV SAID HE HAD RAISED ISSUE SINCE POSSIBLE HOSTILE ACTS AGREEMENT SHOULD BE AS COMPREHENSIVE AS POSSIBLE AND QUESTION OF INDIRECT ACTS MUST BE CONSIDERED. NEXT SESSION SCHEDULED FOR AFTER-NOON JUNE 15. END SUMMARY.

2. AT FIFTH PLENARY MEETING, HELD MORNING OF JUNE 15 AT U.S. EMBASSY, BUCHHEIM WELCOMED SOVIET DELEGATION BY NOTING THAT IN THE COURSE OF OUR TALKS OVER PAST WEEK WE HAD COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS. HE WAS GRATIFIED BY THE SCOPE OF THE CONVERSATIONS AND NOTED
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THAT MANY MATTERS HAD BECOME MORE CLEAR. HE WAS HOPEFUL THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION WOULD SHED MORE LIGHT ON THE SUBJECT AT THIS MEETING.

3. READING FROM PREPARED NOTES, KHLESTOV STATED THAT THE PROBLEMS RAISED IN COURSE OF PRESENT CONSULTATIONS WERE COMPLICATED AND MANY-SIDED, INVOLVED VITAL INTERESTS ON BOTH SIDES, AND SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY CONSIDERED AND WEIGHED. SOVIET ANALYSIS OF U.S. STATEMENTS HAD LED TO FOLLOWING GENERAL CONCLUSIONS. THE U.S. POINT OF VIEW ON PROHIBITING HOSTILE ACTS AGAINST SPACE OBJECTS WAS QUITE CLEAR TO THE SOVIET SIDE, AND THE AMERICAN APPROACH WAS "CLOSE TO SOVIET VIEWS ON THESE MATTERS" AND CREATES "FAVORABLE PREREQUISITES FOR FURTHER WORK IN THIS DIRECTION." THE SOVIET SIDE SAW AN OPPORTUNITY FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT TO PROHIBIT HOSTILE ACTS AGAINST SPACE OBJECTS. THE SOVIET SIDE SAW NO SUCH CLARITY IN U.S. STATEMENT ON DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF SPECIALIZED ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS. THIS WAS UNDERSTANDABLE SINCE IT IS NOT EASY TO SORT OUT INTO A SEPARATE GROUP SO-CALLED ASAT SYSTEMS (ITEMS) WHICH SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO SUCH A PROHIBITION. ACCORDINGLY,

THE SOVIET SIDE THOUGHT IT MOST PROMISING AND EXPEDIENT TO CONCENTRATE JOINT WORK ON A POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING AIMED AT PROHIBITING HOSTILE ACTS. IT WAS DESIRABLE THAT THE U.S. SIDE, "WITH DUE REALISM," PREPARE TO CONTINUE WORK IN THIS SPECIFIC DIRECTION AT THE NEXT MEETING. IT WOULD ALSO BE ADVISABLE TO ELABORATE CERTAIN DEFINITIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, WHAT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS A HOSTILE ACT AGAINST A SPACE OBJECT. KHLESTOV ENDED STATEMENT BY NOTING IT WAS EVIDENT THAT WORK ON FORMULATING HOSTILE ACT AGREEMENT SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBLE FUTURE EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON OTHER ASPECTS OF SUBJECT UNDER DISCUSSION.

4. BUCHHEIM THANKED KHLESTOV FOR HELPFUL COMMENTS. HE
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NOTED SOVIETS HAD PREVIOUSLY MADE SEVERAL REFERENCES TO CONTINGENCY OF UNLAWFUL ACTS IN OUTER SPACE BY THIRD PARTY AND SAID IT SEEMED SOVIET CONCERNS WERE DIFFERENT FROM U.S. OUTLOOK. AT THE SAME TIME, SOVIET SIDE HAD INDICATED THAT RECOGNITION OF SUCH A CONTINGENCY WAS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED A REASON FOR POSSESSING ASAT SYSTEMS BUT RATHER SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN SOME WAY. BUCHHEIM ALSO NOTED THAT IN YESTERDAY'S COMMENTS ON DESIRABILITY AND FEASIBILITY OF ELABORATING HOSTILE ACTS AGREEMENT, SOVIET SIDE HAD INTRODUCED NEW IDEA OF AN UNDERTAKING TO DEAL WITH POSSIBLE ACTIONS FACILITATING OR ASSISTING IN CARRYING OUT HOSTILE ACTS. HE SAID WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS ON THESE SUBJECTS.

5. KHLESTOV RESPONDED THAT SOVIET SIDE HAD DRAWN ATTENTION TO FACT OF EXISTING THIRD COUNTRIES IN CONNECTION WITH THE U.S. PROPOSAL NOT TO DEVELOP AND DEPLOY ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS. PRESUMABLY SUCH A POSSIBLE AGREEMENT COULD BE IN FORCE FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME, DURING WHICH THIRD COUNTRIES COULD ACHIEVE A CERTAIN LEVEL OF SPACE CAPABILITY WHICH WOULD RAISE THE QUESTION OF WHAT THE SITUATION OF THE U.S. AND USSR WOULD BE UNDER SUCH AN AGREEMENT. A BILATERAL HOSTILE ACTS AGREEMENT WOULD NOT INVOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THIRD COUNTRIES TO THE SAME EXTENT. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF "UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES," KHLESTOV SAID THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER A HOSTILE ACTS AGREEMENT SHOULD APPLY TO SPACE OBJECTS WHICH WOULD BE USED FOR CONDUCTING UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES AGAINST A CERTAIN STATE, DAMAGING IT, OR VIOLATING ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS. WHAT WAS MEANT BY "THREAT," "DAMAGE" OR "VIOLATION" WAS OPEN TO DISCUSSION. THE SOVIET SIDE HAD GIVEN THE EXAMPLES OF INTRUDING INTO NATIONAL AIR SPACE AND DIRECT TV BROADCASTING
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WITHOUT A STATE'S CONSENT. WE MIGHT ARGUE OVER VARIOUS POINTS, BUT, IN PRINCIPLE, THERE COULD BE THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH UNLAWFUL ACTIONS BY SPACE OBJECTS. KHLESTOV AGAIN SAID HE DID NOT RAISE THE QUESTION AS A PRETEXT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT R DEPLOYMENT OF ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS, BUT BECAUSE, FROM SOVIET VIEWPOINT, IT WAS A "REAL SITUATION" WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

6. BUCHHEIM SAID THE U.S. SIDE WOULD THINK ABOUT THESE USEFUL OBSERVATIONS, BUT HE WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO ISSUE OF "INDIRECT" HOSTILE ACTS. YESTERDAY, THE SOVIET SIDE HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF PROHIBITIONS ON ENABLING OR ASSISTING IN HOSTILE ACTS; WE WANTED TO UNDERSTAND THIS CONCEPT MORE FULLY. HE ASKED IF THE IDEA OF THE SOVIET SIDE WAS MOST NEARLY EXPRESSED BY THE ENGLISH WORD ASSISTANCE, FACILITATION OR ENABLEMENT. MAYORSKIY SAID "ENABLEMENT" IS EXACTLY WHAT WAS MEANT.

7. KHLESTOV SAID IT WAS CLEAR WE ARE WORKING IN DIRECTION OF PROHIBITING ACTS AFFECTING SPACE OBJECTS. SUCH ACTS COULD INCLUDE DAMAGE OR DESTRUCTION AND COULD BE COMMITTED DIRECTLY BY ONE SPACE OBJECT AGAINST ANOTHER OR BY SOME EARTH-BASED MEANS. ACTS BY ONE SPACE OBJECT DIRECTLY AGAINST ANOTHER COULD BE VARIOUS WITH SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT; AND ALL "DIRECT" ACTION SHOULD BE SUBJECT OF PROHIBITION. THE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE AS BROAD AS POSSIBLE. THE SOVIET SIDE DREW ATTENTION TO INDIRECT HOSTILE ACTS SINCE INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC LAW CONTAINED SUCH A CONCEPT.

8. BUCHHEIM SAID THAT YESTERDAY KHLESTOV HAD MENTIONED AN EXAMPLE OF INDIRECT OR ENABLING ACTION AND ASKED WHETHER THE TERM HOSTILE ACT WOULD INCLUDE LAUNCHING INTO OUTER SPACE A DEVICE FOR CARRYING OUT A HOSTILE ACT.

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9. KHLESTOV SAID HE WAS FRANKLY NOT SURE. HE HAD SIMPLY TRIED TO FIND SOME CHARACTERISTIC EXAMPLES BUT WAS NOT CERTAIN WHETHER THE EXAMPLE DEMONSTRATED WHAT THE SOVIET SIDE MEANT. HE DREW ATTENTION TO THIS MATTER AS ONE WHICH MUST BE CONSIDERED. (WHILE KHLESTOV WAS SLOWLY ARTICULATING THIS REPLY, WHICH WAS

MUCH MORE VAGUE THAN HIS COMMENTS ON THE SAME POINT
ON JUNE 14, GENERAL PISAREV WAS TURNED IN HIS CHAIR
TOWARD KHLESTOV AS THOUGH READY TO LEAP UP AND THROTTLE
THE MAN IF HE MADE A WRONG UTTEREANCE.)

10. BUCHHEIM THEN CLOSED SESSION BY STATING THAT THE
U.S. SIMPLY WANTED TO UNDERSTAND THE SOVIET VIEWS
THOROUGHLY; THE U.S. SIDE HAD NO ADDITIONAL POINTS AT
THAT TIME, BUT WOULD SUMMARIZE SOME OF OUR IMPRESSIONS
AT THE NEXT PLENARY MEETING.

11. AFTER THE MEETING BUCHHEIM MENTIONED TO KHLESTOV
THAT HE HAD NOTED KHLESTOV'S USE OF PHRASE "ACT AFFECT-
ING A SPACE OBJECT" AND ASKED IF HE INTENDED SOME
MEANING DIFFERENT FROM MEANING OF HIS EARLIER USE OF
"HOSTILE ACT AGAINST SPACE OBJECT." KHLESTOV SAID NO,
THAT ALL OF HIS WAYS OF EXPRESSING THE IDEA HAD THE
SAME INTENDED MEANING, THAT IS, "ACTS INCOMPATIBLE WITH
FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES."

12. AT RESTRICTED MEETING IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING, IT WAS
AGREED TO MEET AGAIN AT 4 P.M., JUNE 15.
FRY UNQUOTE VANCE

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